1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

situation it will of course be necessary to wait until the next census.

3

Race, Origin, Language

The Balinese, like the large majority of the other inhabitants of Indonesia, are classified as Malays, who are usually included in the Palaeo-Mongolid sub-race.[8] In the sub-division into Early and Late Malays the Balinese belong to the latter group.

The ancestors of the Indonesians must originally have lived in what is now Yunan, in southwest China. Around 2000 B.C. they began to trek southwards from the mountains to the coast of Farther India, and roughly five hundred years later crossed over to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and to the other islands. When they settled on Bali is not known with any precision.[9]

The present-day languages of Indonesia are cognate, and together constitute the Indonesian language family. Inside that family there are several groups of more closely related languages. Balinese, together with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of western Sumbawa, constitutes one such group.[10] In structure and syntax, then, it is more closely related to those languages than to Javanese. In the course of history,[11] however, Old Javanese (and, either directly or *via* Old Javanese, Sanskrit)[12] has had a great influence on the Balinese vocabulary, as regards not only terms for cultural elements borrowed, but also everyday terms. Hence the position of Balinese in the Indonesian language family is comparable to that of English in the Indo-Germanic family. English, too, is very closely related to the languages of one group, the Germanic, but in the course of history has been strongly influenced by Latin and French, two languages of another group, the Italic.

Balinese also has in common with Javanese its use of the so-called 'vocabularies of courtesy'.[13] The Balinese determines his choice of words according to the social relation between the

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

person he is speaking to or speaking about and himself. Hence in Balinese one has to cope with three special vocabularies within the language, each of which includes some hundreds of words. One employs the ordinary, common language when speaking with intimates, equals, or inferiors; polite terms must be used as soon as one begins to speak to one's superiors or to strangers; and 'deferential' terms are obligatory in all cases when one is so bold as to speak of parts of the body or of the acts, possessions, or qualities of important people. The Balinese sum up the last two vocabularies under the term *alus* ('fine' or 'noble'). Naturally these two are intermingled, since the person to whom one speaks politely has the right to make use of deferential terms for everything concerning his own sphere of thought, action, and being.

Thus in Balinese one encounters many doublets and triplets which are almost synonymous, but different in degree of deference, politeness, or familiarity. One who speaks familiarly to an important person or uses colloquial terms concerning a superior is guilty of rudeness. Such rudeness could lead in some cases to an indictment in court, since the use of the deferential vocabulary is closely related to caste prerogatives. One who uses the deferential terms to his equals or inferiors is naturally not punishable, but his speech is regarded as ridiculous. Nor does one use the deferential terms in speaking of oneself. That would be the extreme of arrogance.

4

Balinese Agriculture

Bali is renowned for its *sawahs*, its irrigated ricefields. And even where wet-rice cultivation is impossible, it is a predominantly agricultural land. In 1930 seventy-five out of every hundred persons gainfully employed were in agriculture, which there almost without exception follows the indigenous Indonesian pattern. There are foreign-owned plantations only in Jĕmbrana and the part of Buleleng to the west of Pulaki; the total area of such plantation lands amounted to some 6,800 acres in 1954.

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

Hence all sorts of details regarding the way of life of a Balinese can help to provide an insight into the conception he has (or had in the past) of the cosmos. Let us, then, consider some of those patterns and classifications.

2

Cosmic Antipodes[1]

In various parts of the Indonesian archipelago directions are indicated by words meaning 'in the direction of the interior' and 'in the direction of the sea'. Such words have in most cases also come to serve the purpose of indicating the directions of the compass. The Indonesian word *sĕlatan*, which is related to *sĕlat*, or 'strait', 'narrows', now means 'south', 'southern', 'southerly'. It can only have obtained that meaning in a territory like Malaya. The Macassarese of southwestern Celebes, living on the west coast of a peninsula whose vertical axis runs north and south, use the word *raya*, related to terms for 'interior', to mean 'east', 'eastern', 'easterly'. Their Buginese neighbours on the east coast of the peninsula use the etymologically related *aja* for 'west', 'western', 'westerly'. And the equivalent *daa* of the South Torajas in central Celebes means 'north', 'northern', the direction of the upper reaches of the north-to-south running Sa'dan River, which is the main artery of their territory.[2]

Something of the same sort can be found on Bali in the antithesis between *kaja* and *kĕlod*. *Kaja* is composed of the two elements *kĕ*, 'towards', and *aja* (compare the Buginese word in the preceding paragraph), and so means 'in the direction of the interior', 'upstream'. *Kĕlod* consists of *kĕ* and *lod* (compare the Indonesian word for sea, *laut*), and hence indicates 'in the direction of the sea', 'downstream'. In southwest Celebes the significance of *raya–aja* depended on the point of vantage, and the same is true of *kaja* and *kĕlod* on Bali. In southern Bali the sea is to the southwest, south, and southeast, hence *kĕlod* should be interpreted as meaning 'south', 'southern', 'southerly'. The interior, the upper reaches of the rivers, is to the north, and *kaja* consequently becomes 'north',

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

'northern'. In northern Bali the terms indicate exactly the opposite directions: there *kaja* is 'south(ern)' and *kĕlod* 'north(ern)'. Now, as was seen in the first section of Chapter One, the central mountain range dominates the Balinese landscape. In many places the surrounding sea and the centrally located mountains are a pair of visibly contrasting realities. The antithesis *kaja–kĕlod*, consequently, is not only a horizontal one, but also a vertical one. *Kaja* is associated primarily with the mountains. There are the large lakes with their reservoirs of fertility-bringing water. One expects all good things from the direction of the mountains. And from the concept 'mountains' to the concept 'heaven' is but a small step. Hence *kaja* has acquired the connotation of 'favourable', 'divine', 'propitious': everything related to the upper world is associated with it.

Its antipode is *kĕlod:* everything earthly, everything unfavourable and ominous, everything demonic – in brief, the nether world and its forces. For the eastern half of central Bali the island of Nusa Pĕnida, to the south or southeast, is the lair of all evil forces, illnesses, and troubles. There reigns 'the great lord with the fangs' (Jĕro Gĕde Mĕchaling), the cholera demon, for example.[4] Along the coast of Bali ceremonies are held regularly in an attempt to ward off these evil influences. There is, for instance, the *nangluk mĕrana* held for the region of Gianyar at new moon in the sixth month (thus in December) on the beach near Lĕbih. (Lĕbih lies on a direct line from the capital of Gianyar to the central point of Nusa Pĕnida.)[5] There is a similar ceremony in nearby Kramas.[6]

This does not exhaust the antitheses classified with this pair of terms. The relationship of *kaja* to *kĕlod* is the same as that of man to woman, the waxing moon to the waning moon, day to night, life to death, the *desa* to the *banjar*, and so forth. The east, where the sun comes to life each morning, and the west, where it dies, also form such an antithesis. It is possible that it was originally not linked to the antithesis *kaja–kĕlod*, but the two are now very closely connected. This combination is also to be found elsewhere in Indonesia, for example among the Ngaju Dyaks of southern

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

the gods from this *bale*. As was said above, the *pangĕnĕm* is also the place were the women's association meets every full moon. It is unusual for the pavilion of the gods, where the most important offerings are arranged when they are presented to all the gods together, to be located on the *kauh* side.

The altars are dominated in size and significance by the brick chapel of Dewa Ayu Ngurah Panji. To judge from the name, the goddess derives from the village of Panji lying to the southwest. The four altars in the eastern row that are oriented towards the east are all dedicated to goddesses; the deities in all the other altars are male.

Very striking is the form of the lotus-seat placed under a roof on a high base. A roof over a lotus-seat is to the Balinese something of an anomaly, because of the seat's association with the upper-worldly gods, especially Surya and Siwa. In Pura Pĕmayun the lotus-seat is for Dewa Gĕde Sakti Bayu. This deity is said to be the oldest one in Pura Pĕmayun; because he resides in a lotus-seat even *pĕdandas* are willing to pay him homage.

It is not known what the relation may be between the name of Pura Pĕmayun and that of Dewa Ngurah Putu Pĕmayun; contrary to what might be expected, he does not occupy a prominent place in the temple.

In front of the altar of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar there is an egg-shaped stone about a foot long set on a square column. This stone is called a *lingga*. On the northeast side of it there is a small stone statue with an inconspicuous phallus, and beneath it on the ground a smaller cylinder-shaped stone. It is believed that the *lingga* is an attribute of Dewa Bagus Sĕmar.

The word *lingga*, borrowed from Sanskrit, is well known on Bali, without there necessarily being any Çiwaitic reminiscence to it except in the official priestly circles of the *pĕdandas*. The crude stone columns to be found particularly in temples in the highlands, and almost always serving as seats for purely Balinese gods, are also called *linggas*, though *taulan* is a more common designation. The word *pralingga*, used to designate a temporary lodging for a deity during a temple ceremony, is a combination of *lingga*

1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
OF7 Balinese OF7

and the prefix *pra*, 'origin'. When a deity descends in an offering or in a medium, that act is called *mĕlingga*. And in the *kidungs* the epithet *lingga ning jagat*, 'the *lingga* of the world', frequently occurs in royal titles.

7

The Temple Anniversary

The *odalan* or anniversary of Pura Pĕmayun falls on Wednesday-Klion in the week of Paang. In earlier times the anniversary was celebrated with like magnificence every Javanese-Balinese year of two hundred ten days. In recent times, however, the custom has developed to hold a memorial feast alternately on a large scale and in a simple way. It should be pointed out that this sort of arrangement is known throughout the island, though the periodicity varies. For example the order followed may be *nista-utama* (meagre-grand), *nista-madya-utama* (meagre-average-grand), *nista-nista-nista-utama*, or any of a number of other combinations.

On the occasion of the anniversary, pigs, ducks, and chickens are used as offerings. Only wholly black pigs should be used. This is especially true in isolated mountain areas where the autochthonous black Balinese pig is still abundant. In the lowlands, where that variety has been completely supplanted by the hybrid Chinese-Balinese variety with a sagging back and a white belly, this type of pig can generally also be used. All the expenses for the offering ceremonial fall to the men's and women's associations, which divide the costs between them in proportion to the number of their members.

Counting the preparations, the temple festival lasts nine days. Five periods can be distinguished: the preparations, the day of the introductory ceremonial, the anniversary proper, then an interlude, and finally the closing day.

On Friday-Klion in the week of Pujut the women's association begins making the offering biscuits (*jajan*) which serve as decorations for the offerings. These preparations are completed on Monday-Pon of the following week, Paang.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

805 answer is that it has 35 days, thus conflicting with the knowledge that saka months have 29 or 30 days and that there are no months in the wuku year. This confusion is perhaps because 10 months of 35 days total almost the correct duration of one solar-lunar year — 354 days; then, 6 months of 35 days make exactly 210 days: one wuku year. Furthermore, there are many holidays, like the important *Tumpak*, recurring every 35 days, or 6 times during a wuku year.

From this is deduced that in the original Balinese calendar there were probably only 10 months of 35 days and that the two extra months of the saka were added later when the calendar was modified and the Hindu calendar was adopted, leaving memory of a month of 35 days. We have seen that there are only Balinese names for ten of the twelve months, and Dr. Korn mentions that in Tenganan they say that the last two months were given to them as a present by Begawan Seganin Ening. Thus it is easily possible that the Balinese compromised and divided their year of 210 days into 6 months of 35 days. They do not make astronomical observations to calculate the solar-lunar year, but use special tables and charts called *pengalihan bulan*.

192 769 775 6. *Ancestors.* It is interesting that after cremation a deified ancestor becomes a *dewa-yang*, a word that bears a striking resemblance to the term *wayang*, over which there is a controversy. The *wayang* are the shadow-play puppets which are recognizedly related to the ancestors. Other names for the ancestral souls are *pitara*, *kawitan*, and *m'pú wayangan*, and the "heaven" where the ancestors live is called *langit gringsing wayang* "the flaming heaven of the *wayang*." The local gods, also ancestors, are called *Sanghyang*, a word made of the old relative pronoun *sang* and *hyang*, or *yang*, a native term for divinity, from which the word *wayang* could easily be derived. *Dewa* is a Sanskrit synonym of *yang*, and *dewa-yang* could have become *'wa-yang*.

776 7. *The following are among the most important Balinese Gods:*

SURYA — The Sun, chief of the Balinese pantheon. The only Hindu god actually worshipped in the temples.

BATARA GURU — The Supreme Teacher, master of Brahmanas. Most generally identified with Siwa. Represented as a bearded hermit seated on a lotus (*padma*). Batara Gurú has four arms, two clasped in attitude of prayer and the other two holding a rosary on the right, a brush for swatting flies (*petjut*) on the left.

BRAHMA — Who is the fire itself (AGNI), and who as lord of cremation

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

supremacy, becoming Banaspati Radja, "Lord of the Jungle," the Barong's name. This would explain the origin of the Rangda and Barong if it were not for the fact that the Balinese are thoroughly confused in regard to their identity; I have been told that Erlangga himself turns into a Barong to fight Rangda and that Batara Budda and the Barong are the same. It is obvious, nevertheless, that they are not purely Balinese: Rangdas are unknown in the oldest villages and the character and appearance of the witch presents a striking similarity with the wild-eyed, fanged demons of Tibet and northern India, where Tantric Buddhism holds sway. In Nepal there is a long-haired devil called *lakahe* who dances like Rangda, holding a white cloth which it uses as weapon. Both the Rangda and the Barong seem to belong to the Tantric Buddhist lore, perhaps to the now disappeared Bhairawa sect that flourished in Bali in Erlangga's time.

Bhairawa Buddhism remains the deliverance element in the Hindu-Balinese religion, a short cut to the release of the soul from the cycle of reincarnations, attained not by simple propitiation of gods, but by direct control of the supernatural by man's own magic powers. The Bhairawas paid homage to a sort of Durga — Sanghyang Berawi or Begawati, their deity of evil and death — and they influenced the higher cult with a new demonology, death cult, magic science, and magic terminology. It imparted a strong magic flavour to the national religion, but it disappeared as a separate sect. According to Lekkerkerker and Stutterheim, Buddhism, or, rather, Buddhist magic, was introduced in Bali about A.D. 96, perhaps by the apostles, the brothers Mpú Kuturan and Mpú Bharada from Kediri (Daha). To them is attributed authorship of the civil and religious laws of Bali. Mpú Bharada, hero of the *Tjalon Arang* and teacher of Erlangga, was the magician who vanquished Rangda and today remains the most important figure in the magic lore.

A good deal of speculation revolves around the significance of the word *Barong*, for which there is no acceptable explanation. The Malay for "bear," *baruang*, has been suggested, but Malay was a recently introduced language and there were no bears in Bali. The classic Barong is called *barong ketet* or *kekek*, but there are also Barongs in the form of tigers (*barong matjan*), of pigs (*barong bangkal*), of lions (*barong singha*); and once we saw one in the shape of an elephant (*barong gadja*). There are also Barongs in human shape like the giant puppets (*barong landong*) who, holy as they are, perform ribald slapstick comedy. The main characters of the *barong landong* are Djero Gedé, "The Big One," an evil giant identified with the fanged monster Djero Gedé

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

weak" occurs with great frequency and alarmingly little critical evaluation. This set of ideas became current among Europeans writing about the area and was passed on from one to another, snowballing in apparent force but in effect becoming more and more distant from the indigenous thinking to which the ideas were referred. Except where the authors give a specific reference to the native term employed, all mention of "magic" forces, power, balance, and so on should be viewed with suspicion, and judgment held in reserve for the presentation of further evidence.

With this reservation, then, we may concede that the quality attributed by the Balinese to such objects as the ancient stone images and inscriptions, rendered by Stutterheim as "magic power," is in the Balinese language called *sakti*—a term reminiscent of the Polynesian *mana*, in that it connotes supernatural strength. *Sakti* is of course a Sanskrit term, translated by Dowson as "The wife or the female energy of a deity, but especially of Siva."[11] *Sakti* in Bali means holy, sacred—dangerous, too, if not properly handled—but it has lost, at least on the overt level, the connotation of femaleness belonging to the Sanskrit term. How much of it remains at a deeper level, contributing to the character and the personification of Rangda, we may later on be in a better position to judge.

Returning to actual representations of Durga dating from historic times, we find three stone carvings of her in the same aspect as the one from the Javanese Prambanan reproduced by Keith. Two of these are attributed by Stutterheim to the Old Balinese period, tenth to thirteenth centuries, and a third to the Middle Balinese period, of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[12] The first of these, Figure 27 of his *Oudheden van Bali*, is entitled *Durga Mahisasuramardini* and was found in the temple, Poera Kedarman, at Koetri (see Pl. XII, *a*.). The figure is elongated, swaying as in a dance, the left leg extended to an unusual length and in unusual tension, the torso bent from the pelvis towards the same side, the left; head and torso form a continuous, quite rigid line at an angle to the line of the extended leg. The body is definitely articulated at the hip, its weight supported by the right leg, which is, presumably, slightly flexed, though the stone is here rather badly damaged. Of the face, nothing can be made out. The multiple arms bear the various weapons, and the figure is clearly seen to be standing upon the demon buffalo (bull?). The whole figure gives an impression of tensile strength and has a distinctly original character. The style does not appear to be directly influenced by that of the early tenth century Hindu Javanese at Prambanan, and if it were not for the content, one would have

[11] Dowson, 1928, "Sakti."
[12] Stutterheim, 1930.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 As for the mother, Ni Jungir, she had nothing to say, except that she had much trouble at the birth of the twins, for it was hard, and she lost much blood.

*845 852 783 Three days after their birth the knotted ends of the umbilical cord attached to the navels of the children had dried up and fallen off (*kĕpus pungsĕd*). Now could take place the ceremony called *mĕlĕpas aon* — literally translated the "loosing of the ashes", a purification which for the ordinary child takes place in the house, and after the observance of which the father and mother are allowed to go out from the house-court into the village, and the baby may be taken for the first time out of the inner room where he was born. In the case of these twins the ceremony took place in the *kubu* on the edge of the graveyard. The offerings, which include *nasi sĕgaan*, dedicated to bad spirits, tongs of bamboo and a blade of bamboo such as is used to cut the umbilical cord, and thorny branches of three kinds (traditional in many countries to drive off the evil spirits which attack new-born children), these offerings for the twins were not double, but followed the customary allotment for a single child. (The name of the ceremony is perhaps connected with an offering of cooked rice mixed with ashes, which must be included. But the meaning remains obscure and could not be explained by the people, except that it marks the freeing of the father, mother, and child from the uncleanness [1]) of the birth, when the last "dirty" piece of cord has dropped from the navel).

[782]

192

[1]) The word used by the Balinese is *sĕbĕl*. There is a tendency among European observers to give to the word a meaning connected with magic as well as its literal meaning of "unclean, impure". Dr. KORN, in *De Dorpsrepubliek Tnganan Pagringsingan* (p. 163), says, „Bij de geboorte van het kind ... zijn moeder en kind magisch zwak, men noemt dit sbel welk woord in de regel met „onrein" wordt vertaald. Menschen die sbel zijn wegens de geboorte van een kind mogen geen bezoek van vreemden ontvangen. Dezen zouden de magisch zwakke kraamvrouw in gevaar kunnen brengen door hun eigen magisch vermogen".

But it seems to me confusing to impute such a meaning to the word *sĕbĕl*. The Balinese language has no general term for magic, although there are special words for charms, *sĕrana*, *guna*, and for 'supernaturally

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

On the ninth day the boy-twin died. He was buried in the graveyard. The graveyard of Sukawanā has five divisions, running from *kajā*, nearest the mountains, to *kĕlod*, nearest the sea. The highest place, near the mountains, is reserved for young children who died before losing their first tooth (*tondèn mĕkĕtus*). The lowest place is for those who have died an unnatural or wrong death, who have died in an accident or taken their own lives (*salah pati*). The boy-twin was buried in the highest place. Alone amongst all the bodies those of the little children *tondèn mĕkĕtus* do not have to be later dug up and cremated. For cremation is a purification, and the little children have not yet any sins. This twin child, then, was not wrong nor sinful in himself.

---

powerful through holiness', *sĕkti* (çakti), and the word *tĕngĕt* is applied to things and places fearful in appearance or charged with evil power, such as the witch *Rangdā*, or the placenta of a new born child, or graveyards, certain temples, trees, and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. The Balinese have no abstract conception of magic, and they do not suspect that many of their customs and religious practices are considered by Europeans as forms of magic. Therefore it seems incorrect in trying to render the Balinese thought to bring in a concept which, though familiar to the observer, is foreign to Balinese thought. A woman Pĕmangku told me that she might never enter a house, even of her nearest relatives, during the three days after the birth of a child, for she who was in charge of the temple, where the gods are *sĕkti*, might not come in contact with that which is *sĕbĕl*. Relatives are *sĕbĕl* after a death in the family, and a woman at the time of menstruation. The high caste woman is for three days banished from the *puri* of the princes, and literally imprisoned in a special court. The Sudrā woman at this time may not sleep upon the same *balé* as her husband, although she bathes in the river and cooks his food. She may not enter the temples or the *sanggah* (household shrine). In the village of Sayan it is said that the goddess Durgā must leave the temple once a month, when she is *sĕbĕl*, and take up her place in the graveyard, where she may be given offerings at what is known as the throne of Prajāpati. (A mystic explained that Prajāpati is really a woman in the form of a man.) From these examples it will be seen that the word *sĕbĕl* means unclean in the sense of "dirty" and in the religious and mystical sense of "impure", but in the Balinese mind there is no direct and conscious connection of the *sĕbĕl* state with magical weakness.

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

It was forbidden by the Rajās, but as the people were under the rule of different Rajās, the customs differ. 845* 184 582

"If the girl is born before the boy, of twins born to a Rajă, they may not marry, for she is older. Therefore it is not *salah* for the Jabă if the girl is born before the boy.

"Perhaps the custom arose because once a Rajă had boy and girl twins which were lucky, and once a Jabă had such twins which were unlucky. Superstition arises when people are afraid".

This young man, so superior to the superstition of the people, still admits that Jabă are *salah* if they have male and female twins of which the boy is born first. On this point he is in agreement with Idă Putu Maron, a Brahman scholar of Ubud, who said: "It is only called *bunching* if the boy is born first. If the girl is born first it is called simply *kĕmbar*. In this case it is not a good sign for the Triwangsă, nor is it *salah* for the Jabă. But the people do not know this. They proceed with the purification of the village just as if it were *salah*.

"There was once in the ancient Pèjèng dynasty a Rajă who was a twin. He is called Dalĕm Bunching. After this, the Rajă's, to enforce their power, ordered the Jabă to be *salah* when they had twins in the way of the Rajă. This was to make the people humble." 845* 173 539

When we asked this informant about the twins' sexual connection in the womb, he said that he had never heard such a thing, but perhaps it was told the people by the Rajă's to make them ashamed, so that they would realize how *salah* they were. 845* 184

Although Idă Putu Maron applies the name *bunching* only to twins of which the boy is born first, we have seen that it is generally applied to all male and female twins. But according to the lontars of Sanur and of Tabanan *bunching* is the name when the girl is born first, whereas if the boy is first it is called *silih asih*. The old men of Taro also said *bunching* if the girl is born first, and *salit* if the boy is first. The Padandă Gĕdé of Bongkasă also calls it *silih asih* if the boy is born first, saying that it is 845* 192 184

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

*845 184 ●192 a better sign for Triwangsă, but no worse for Jabă than the reversed order. He says that twins with one placenta are worse for the Jabă, because that is their way, and with two placentas are better for Rajă's, for that is their way. I was also told by the father of Kĕtut Wijanagară, the administrator of the Liefrink-Van der Tuuk-Library, that in the old days in Bulĕlèng the case of one placenta was considered more *salah*, but if the girl was born first it was not *salah* at all.

I have encountered still more divergent meanings for the word *bunching*, as for instance when the Sĕngguhu priest of Lukluk told me that he called boy and girl twins *bunching* if they had two placentas, and *silih asih* if they had only one, regardless of the order of their birth. He added that he had never heard of a case with two placentas. And recently in Bandă, a village near Blahbatu, where triplets were born, the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) called triplets in which the sexes were mixed *bunching*, whereas if there were three boys or three girls they would be called *kĕmbar*. In this particular case there were two boys and a girl, which generally is considered a very bad sign, as the people say two men may not share a wife, and the family must be banished, the village purified. The custom in Bandă we cannot consider very orthodox, for although they planned to have the *mĕcharu malik sumpah*, they did not banish the family for the reason that the triplets died within a day of their birth. The death of the [165] offending children does not, in stricter villages, absolve the parents from banishment. We may consider this application of the name *bunching* a case of ignorance. The old name is *katijuru*, perhaps deriving from *juru katrini*, i. e. 'the three officials', a term occurring among the names of officials in older language. There are other fanciful names applied to triplets, as *tunjung apit tĕlagă*, 'a waterlily on either side of the pond', given when there are two girls and a boy, for it is a good sign when the boy is born with two wives (Batuan). If there are two boys and a girl, they are called *bută*, demons, because they must

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

fight over the girl. I have also heard two boys and a girl called *panchoran apit bulakan*, two girls and a boy *bulakan apit panchoran*. These are two sorts of springs, the *panchoran* water coming from above and flowing out of a spout, the *bulakan* water bubbling up from beneath in a hollow rock — obvious male and female symbols.

The people are vague about the significance of triplets, as these are of course rarer in occurrence than twins. In a case of one boy and two girls born about seven years ago in Bongkasă, the people did not know what to do. Although at that time the Prĕbĕkĕl (government headman) of the village was the son of the Padandă, the Padandă apparently could not advise him, so he reported the case to the Punggawă, the head of the district. The Punggawă again reported to the Dutch Controleur, but, as the Prĕbĕkĕl told me, "they did not order anything to be done, so the village did nothing". This exemplifies how much the people still hold in their minds that unusual births are a crime against the Rajă — although they know that the power of the Rajă's is long past, they suppose that the Dutch government will also consider it an affront if anyone has twins or triplets!

Another such case was when five or six years ago boy and girl twins were born in Kabă-Kabă (near Tabanan). The parents happened to be Sĕngguhu people, who, because of their priestly caste (although not of the three higher Hindu castes) considered that they had the right to have such twins and not be *saluh*. The village, however, dit not agree, and insisted that the parents provide the ceremony for the purification of the 'country'. As the Sĕngguhu family insisted on their rights, the village brought a formal action against them. The decision was referred from one high official to another until finally it was brought to the Governor General. Meanwhile a year had passed. The villagers took the matter into their own hands, and banished the family from the village for life. The exiled ones moved to Tabanan, where they had relatives who took them in, "for they had known of people with twins who had left out the ceremony".

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabă must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[2] father of Ting-

[2] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapă, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesă Penidă, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramă is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

	lis components	*ètèh-ètèh padudusan*
tangkar iga	1 and 2	50 and 51
lilit linting	15	58
anchak	21	64
bingin or baggu	22	63
padang lèpas	28	55
padang gugulung or *gugulungan*	listed by Swellengrebel	62
bali gading	44	66

783*
778

67 *rarakitan [r]akit lalima* five stalks in an flat bowl attached at the base and diverging upwards.
68 *rarakitan [r]akit tèlu* three stalks arranged as in 67.
69 *rarakitan [r]akit patpat* four stalks arranged as in 67.

The words rakit, lakit, lakèt, lèkèt, lèkat, dèkat, all express the sense of close together, attached.

70 *ubi* edible root; always associated with *kèladi* (No 43).

The final and most important items amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* are a series of holy water pots with spouts, the position in which each is placed being denoted by the number of spouts.

783*
778
415

71 *kumba charatan manyonyo abèsik* pot with one spout (shown between No 36 and No 37), in the North-West.

The term *kumba charatan* means pot with spout or spouts; the term *manyonyo* (having a nipple or breast) with a numeral is merely a mnemonic device for the guidance of the offering makers and the women assisting at the ceremony.

[192]

72 *k. c. m. dadua* pot with two spouts, in the South-east.
73 *k. c. m. tèlu* pot with three spouts, in the South-west.
74 *k. c. m. solas* pot with eleven spouts, Middle high (between the centre of the eight directions and the zenith, the zenith and nadir forming, together with the eight directions and the centre, a three-dimensional totality of 11).
75 *k. c. m. siya* pot with nine spouts, in the South.
76 *k. c. m. akutus* pot with eight spouts, in the Centre.
77 *k. c. m. patpat* pot with four spouts, in the North.
78 *k. c. m. lima* pot with five spouts, in the East.
79 *k. c. m. pitu* pot with seven spouts, in the West.
[80 *k. c. m. nemnèm* pot with six spouts, in the North-east.]

While the other objects amongst the *ètèh-ètèh padudusan* may be placed in any position on the platform from which the *padanda* officiates, these holy water pots must be placed in the indicated positions. On completing the ritual, the *padanda* pours the consecrated water from these various pots into a single larger vessel.

The pots with one, two, three and eleven spouts are required only with

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Sundanese OE7 Batak OD5
Bali OF7 Minangkabau OD10
Ngadju OC9
Javanese OE5

I
Br
Bt
MK
S
114
671
192
197

B. EFFECTIVENESS OF INDONESIAN LEGAL TERMINOLOGY

To these remarks on Dutch as a legal language in relation to adat law, we must now add two remarks on native legal language. First: the conscious technical development of the language used to indicate legal relations and transactions has in some degree here and there (Batak, Minangkabau, and Sunda) taken a direction of its own. But everywhere it has lagged compared to the present-day development of a class of native lawyers. This is naturally so, because this development takes place in Dutch, and there has been no initiative to adapt the native language up to now (1939). Vergouwen's book on the Toba-Batak, with its use of Batak words for important law rubrics, does more for this than anything else. Korn, also, called for more attention to the legal language of Bali, which is technically developed to a high point, and he calls for more attention to the destructive influence on it of the present-day use of Malay in the native courts. Indonesian lawyers should resume this native terminology and see what there is to learn from it for a better discernment of native distinctions and native legal conceptions. We think, for instance, of the numerous names for delicts and penalties for delicts which have baffled Dutch practitioners of adat law.

Secondly: There must nearly always be an "actual" relation between institutions and transactions indicated by similar terms, and an "actual" difference between differently named institutions and transactions. We must have a better understanding of the terms for land and possessions in relation to their legal status. We must distinguish between necessary and accidental terminology. Therefore, the determination of native terms is eminently necessary. Mallinckrodt gives some striking examples of the search for the kernel of meaning in apparently divergent legal terms. His interest in the problem of legal language, like that of Korn and Vergouwen, is influenced by van Vollenhoven's *Indonesische Rechtstaal* (1922), in which these problems were posed for the first time. The job of tracing and sifting the meanings of words is of a very subtle nature. To indicate some of the most well-known problems, what is the legal significance of such terms as "adol," "jual," "tuku," "beli," and words etymologically connected with them? There is a little adat literature about the word "tukon," meaning the payment which takes place at a Javanese marriage, but there is no unanimity in it; this is also true of the word "adol." What is the significance of the fact that a Dyak tribe uses the same word to

JE
114
671
192
197
Ng
Bt
114
671
192
197